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motivations of the Kaska Indians and to illustrate their operation with selected and inferred data. 128

The process by which the ethos was analyzed will now be considered in greater detail. Circumstances permitted an opportunity to develop the major outlines of this theory in the field, leaving sufficient time to verify many conclusions in subsequent and directed observation and interrogation. Insights into the ethos were first derived by what may be described as empathy into, or psychological penetration of, the attitudes and values of the group. Such an empathic relationship may, of course, be deliberate as well as unconscious. Several times the writer sought purposefully to put himself in the place of the people in order better to gauge the basis of their emotions.[53] At other times he felt himself becoming blunted in the analysis of emotional nuances of behavior because he had unconsciously developed too great a readiness to accept the cultural milieu. Here empathy was unconsciously achieved. Such unconscious identification was regarded as dangerous because it resulted in failure to analyze certain emotional expressions as different from those found in our own society. Recognition of this fact quickly led to conscious readjustment. It cannot be denied that deliberate conscious empathy into an exotic group is an important mechanism for providing a foundation on which to predict behavior.[54]

One of the first steps in analysis was to verify the fact that the Kaska nation as a whole 128
possessed a reasonable degree of homogeneity. This was accomplished in the field by establishing that the behaviors and products of members of different Kaska tribes were similar, 184
and by an inspection of the Rorschach protocols collected.[55] With this homogeneity established, it seemed likely that further analysis based on the observation of a few tribes could be applied to the Kaska as a whole. This does not deny that the picture of the ethos presented is merely one which was derived from the people studied. Further investigation of additional subjects may lead to some modifications in the final theory.

Two principal steps may be distinguished in the analytical process: first, the inference 128
of socially patterned dominant motivations from ethnographic data and, second, the inference of this system from the personality data, including interviews, Rorschach records, dreams, folk-tales, and the casual bits of conversation and items of behavior noted on the F-data sheets. Both of these steps are combined in the schematic outline presented above.

In the first step, the analysis of the ethnographic data, a series of behaviors and a few material products of behavior were inspected in order to infer recurrent forms of emotional (i.e., motivated) expression, that were assumed to be related to the world of meanings.[56]

[53] Psychological penetration of individuals is an established part of psychiatry. See Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 219. See also Krige and Krige, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen* (1943), 109–110.

[54] It is probably to such an experience that Hoebel alludes when he says that the "feel" for a culture includes "the observer's sense of what is . . . *probable* and *fitting* . . . " in that culture (italics ours). Hoebel, *Dismantle* (1943), 108.

[55] Hallowell has suggested the utility of the Rorschach Test for determining the homogeneity of social groups. Hallowell, *The Rorschach Technique in the Study of Personality and Culture* (1945), 207–208.

[56] It is appreciated that emotion is a product of many other factors, including nutrition as well as endocrine and constitutional processes, and is also dynamically related with the intellectual elements of perception. The physiological aspects of emotion are not included in the present study because of the fact that adequate methods were not available for studying their influence and because, in some cases, there is as yet too little evidence concerning the extent to which such influences are subject to social conditioning.

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the white man's law and the regulative functions of government. Nitla's words demonstrate the connection between a desire for inviolable independence and the denial of external authority: "Injun nothing boss. He feed himself. He live on the meat. Nothing boss the Injun." Going on, he sought to point out the meaninglessness of authority which is not legitimized by a validated protective role. Game, Nitla said, is fed by Jesus, not by the government. Jesus "make this ground . . . He the boss for it. Well, He make white people, He make game, anything. Well, He boss to anything." The white man made nothing in the native's environment, hence he cannot properly assume authority.

In his ingroup relationships the Indian is also self-centered and nonauthoritarian. He does not seek authority in interpersonal relations, and others can scarcely tell him what to do—initiation of activity must come from within. Egocentricity thus leaves little room for patterns of leadership. Few people know how to direct others effectively and white men who try to originate action in social affairs, like dances or trading, meet with apathy and usually fail to realize their suggestions. In most cooperative enterprises, like berry picking or poling a boat, each participant selects his role with a minimum of direction. Within the Indian community, there is a consistent reluctance to give direction or, except in cases of manifest danger, as in adapting to the winter environment, even venture direct suggestion. "We do it this way," the Indian says when approached for help or advice, the implication being that the pupil may or may not follow the traditional pattern. There is little attempt to force adherence to habitual modes of procedure. Personal standards govern the manufacture of cultural products. For example, Hans Donnelly provoked considerable amusement when he constructed a doorway to his tent frame which only suited his own small dimensions, and built a toboggan that was also smaller than most of these vehicles. Although they may be extreme, these examples are not exceptional. Instead of cultural objects being manufactured in close accordance with traditional forms, we find toboggans lashed with insulated wire cable, and other cultural products utilizing scraps of material salvaged from the refuse dumps behind Watson Lake Airport. Any analysis of material products of behavior confirms the absence of formal patterns and indicates the readiness with which variations are developed.

Self-interest sometimes leads to selfishness, people generally showing little appreciation of values like self-sacrifice. When in danger a man tends to look out for himself or his immediate family. Old Man, going home from a dance at which there had been drinking, saw a car in town belonging to the Mounted Police but warned nobody of what was certainly a threatening state of affairs. On another occasion Dorothy Flover's sister warned her brother, who was intoxicated at a dance, that the provincial policeman was walking through Lower Post. The two young people fled without warning anyone else. Self-interest is revealed historically in the fact that once when a social ideology was adopted (under the leadership of a white man), one Indian at least clearly manifested a primary concern with personal gain. The Kaska Indian's preoccupation with his own welfare is even expressed in his complaint that the government does not help the Indians; in reality the center of reference is the speaker, who sees himself standing to benefit from any generous Indian policy.

In some cases egocentricity is overdeveloped to a point where it motivates deviant behavior. Such an individual neglects to project his desire for independence and personal

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APPENDIX B: TABULATION OF ABORIGINAL KASKA CULTURE TRAITS

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THE following list represents the occurrence of aboriginal culture traits among the Kaska groups for which information was available. The list summarizes traits referred to in the preceding text. So few data were obtained for the Espatotena that they have not been included in the tabulation.

Symbols employed have the following meanings:

X	Present	I	Incipient
O	Absent	T	Taboo
R	Rare	?	Applicability of data doubtful
F	Occurs in folktale		

The symbol for the absence of a trait indicates that informants did not know of the trait within their areas. It must be noted that items in the following tabulation do not follow the order by which they are presented in the text. Rather, in order to facilitate comparisons we have conformed fairly closely to the trait lists already published in the Athapaskan ethnographies of Cornelius Osgood.

	Upper Liard Kaska	*Dease River*	*Kaska Tadoosac*	*Frances Lake Kaska*
Food				
Fish:				
Salmon	R			O
Whitefish	X	X		X
Trout	X	X		X
Grayling	X			X
Jackfish	X	X		
Lucbe (Bog)	X			X
Sucker	X	X		X
Pickerel	X			
Fish eggs		X		
Land animals:				
Caribou	X	X		X
Moose	X	X		X
Elk				O
Bison (wood buffalo)				O
Black bear	X	X		X
Brown bear	X	X		
Grizzly bear	O	R		
Beaver	X	X		X
Muskrat	X	OP		X
Lynx	X	R		X
Rabbit	X	X		X
Porcupine	X	X		X
Ground hog	X	X		X
Tree squirrel	X	X		
Mountain sheep	X	X		
Mountain goat	R	X		X

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	Upper Liard Kaska	*Dease River Kaska*	*Tsalona*	*Frances Lake Kaska*
Fox	O	O	O	
Otter	O, T	O, T	O, T	O, T
Mink	O, T	O, T	O, T	
Marten	X	X	X	
Ermine (weasel)			O	
Wolverine	O	O		
Wolf	O	O		
Dog	O	O		
Frog	O, T	O, T	O, T	
Fisher			O	
Gopher (marmot)	X	X		
Birds:				
Owl	X	R	X	
Goose	X	X	X	
Eagle	X	O	O	
Hawk		O	O	
Raven	O			
Ducks	X	X	X	
Grouse	X	X	X	
Ptarmigan	X	X	X	
Spruce	X	X	X	
Swan	X	X	X	
Loon	X	X		
Crane	X		X	
Whiskey jack		R		
Woodpecker		O		
Crow	O	O	O	
Birds' eggs		X		
Vegetable foods:				
Berry eating	X	X	X	X
Blueberry	R	X	X	
Cranberry, high bush	X			
Cranberry, low bush	X	X	X	
Strawberry	R	X	X	
Red raspberry	X	X	X	
Salmon berry	X	X		
Currant	R	X	X	
Soap berry	X	X	X	
Spruce fiber	X	X	X	
Birch fiber	O	X	X	
Jackpine fiber	X		X	
Willow bud	O		O	
Wild rice	O	O		
Wild peas	O			
Wild onion	X	X	X	
Wild rhubarb	X		X	
Wild carrot		X		
Wild roses	X	X		
Muskeg "tea"			X	
Muskeg "apples"	X			
Fern roots	X			

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	Upper Liard Kaska	*Dease River Kaska*	*Tsaiwa*	*Frances Lake Kaska*
Lily bulb	X	O	X	
Mushrooms	X	O		
Birch sap	X	X	X	
Poplar sap	O		X	
Chewing spruce gum	X	X	X	
Mud eaten	O	O	O	
Agriculture	O	O	O	
Fish primary food	X	X		
Starvation	X	X	X	
Cannibalism	Ø	Ø	X	
Starvation cannibalism	X	X	X	
Taboo on cannibals	X	X		
Fish spearing	X	X	X	
Torch fishing	Ø		O	
Hunting:				
Cohabitation taboo	X	X	O	
Hunting songs	X	X		
Bear spearing	X			
Bear "dipi" ambush	X			
Hunting with dogs	X	X	X	
Caribou skin decoy	X		X	
Caribou surrounds	X	X	X	
Sheep surrounds		X		
Carved hunting charms	X	O		X
Semicircular moose tracking	X	X	X	
Moose called by rubbing scrotals	X	X	X	
Moose called with bark horns	X	X		
Footwear removed in hunting	X	X	O	
Human moose surrounds	X	X	X	
Sexpublicness	X	X		O
Giving away kill	X	X	X	
Smoke (meat) drying	X	X	X	
Pemmikan	X	X	X	
Eating raw meat	R	R	R	
Stalked viscera	X	X	O	
Foetal animals eaten	X	X	X	
Fish intestines eaten	X	X		
Blood soup	X	X	X	
Milk drinking	R	X	X	
Antler "velvet" eaten	X			
Skin-lined boiling pit	X	O	O	
Grass-lined boiling pit	R	O	O	
Hot-stone boiling	X	X	X	
Boiling in stomach	X	X	O	
Boiling stock	X	X		
Food served in dishes	X	X		
Food served in bark	X	X		
Men-women-children eating order	O	O	O	
Youth's water taboo	X	X	X	
Youth's grease taboo	X	O	O	
Youth's marrow taboo	X			

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	Upper Liard Kaska	*Dease River Kaska*	*Tahltan*	*Frances Lake Kaska*
Bear taboo for women	O	O	O	
Taboo on eating leg tendons	X		X	
Taboo on dog's eating	X	O	X	
Taboo on eating hind quarters	X			
Pets	O			
Special respect for bear	X			
Special respect for otter	X	X	X	X
Special respect for wolverine			X	
Special respect for wolf	X		X	
Special respect for mink	X	X	X	
Special respect for caribou	X		O	
Special respect for flying squirrel	X			
Special respect for toad	X?	X	X	
Fire drill	O	X?	O	
Strike-a-light	X	X	X	
Fungus for tinder	X			
Dry grass for tinder	X			
Fire carriers	X		X	
Dress				
Tallowed clothing	X	X		
Caribou skin most important	X	X		
Gut clothing	O	O	O	
Fish skin clothing		O	O	
Bird skin clothing	X	X		
Woven skin clothing	X	X	X	
Rabbit skin weaving	X	X	X	
Open coat	X	X	X	
Parka	X	X	X	
Parka stretching frame	X			
Shirt	X	X		
Combination trousers and footwear	X	X	O	
Combination trousers and coat	X	O	O	
Trousers	X	X	X	
Moccasins	X	X		X
Breech cloth	X	X	X	
Leggings	X	X	X	
Fur duffel	X	X	X	
Grass duffel	X	X	O	
Feather duffel	X	X		
Moose-hair duffel	X			
Goat's-hair duffel			X	
Robe	X			
Mittens	X	X	X	
Non-detachable mittens on parka	X			
Gloves		X?	O	
Inner belt	X	X	X	
Ornamented (outer) belt	X	X	X	
Head band	X	X	X	
Skin hat	X	X	X	
Woven spruce-root hat	X	X	O	
Birch-bark hat	X	X		

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tsetsaut	Fraser Lake Kaska
Birchbark hat	X		X	
Spruce-root hat		X	X	
Pillow	O	X	X	
Moss-bag baby carrier	X	X	X	
Back-chair baby carrier	O	O	O	
Woven spruce-root cradle		X		
Cradle swing (Communal)	X	X	X	
Clothing decoration:				
Skin fringe	X	X	X	
Pouches	X	O		
Fur	X	X	X	
Hair		O		
Paint	X	X	X	
Porcupine quills	X	X	X	
Bone	X	X	X	
Personal adornment:				
Tattooing (needle and sharp)	XO	OX	X	
Tattooing (puncture)	O	O		
Painting	X	X	X	
Greasing	X	X	X	
Urine used for washing body		O		
Pore lightening	X	XO		
Labret	X	X	O	
Earrings (Ideal)	X	X	X	
Earrings (Indic)	O		O	
Nasal-septum ring	X	X	X	
Nose rings	X	XO	O	X
Necklaces	X		O	
Wristlets	X	X	O	
Combs	X	X	X	
Cut hair	O	O	O	
Depilation	X	X	X	
Garters	X	X	X	
Urine for washing clothes		X		
Shelter				
Surface rectangular house	O			
Semisubterranean house		O		
Rectangular birch-bark house	O	O		
Rectangular grass-mat house	O	O		
Skin tipi	X			
Conical pole shelter	X	X	X	
Simple lean-to	X	X	X	
Inverted V-shaped house	X	X	X	
Snow house	X	XO		
Cave shelters	X			
Roofing:				
Moss	X		X	
Bark	X		X	
Skin	X	X	X	
Bark	X	X		
Spruce bough	X	X	X	

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tahltan	Frances Lake Kaska
Grass thatch	O		O	
Snow		X		
Mat floors	O			
Brush floors	X	X	X	
Sleeping platforms	O	O		
Pits for possessions	X			
Dugout fireplaces	O	O		
Raised fireplaces	O	O		
Fire screens	X			
Dance house	O	O		
Menstrual house	O	O		
Smoke house	O			
Sweat house	X	X	O?	
Sweat lacking	X	X		
Open camp	X	X		
Caches:				
4-pole platform cache	O	X		
4-pole shelter cache	O?	X		
Ground shelter cache		X		
Single-pole cache	X	X		
Tree platforms	X			
Stone cairn	X			
Snow cache	X			
Special communial ground	O	O		
Two-family shelters	X			
Women erect shelters		X		
TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION				
Birch-bark canoe	X	O		
Spruce-bark canoe	X	O		
Canoes fastened in pairs	X	O		
Hunting canoe	X	X		
Transport canoe	X	X		
Decked canoe	O	O		
Dugout canoe	X	X		
Moose-skin boat	X	X		
Single paddle	X	X		
Double paddle		X?		
Square raft	X	X		
v-shaped raft	X	X		
Sails	O	X		
Simple-log bridge	X	X		
Multiple-log bridge	X	X		
Trail blazing:				
Notched tree trunks		X		
Moss or grass hung on trees	X	X		
Bent brush	X	X		
Stone cairns	X	X		
Snowshoes	X	X		
Leuchens-type snowshoes	X	X		
Hunting and trail shoes distinguished	X	X		

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tudeyah	Frances Lake Kaska
Willow snowshoe	X	X		
Men lace snowshoes	R	R		
Women lace snowshoes	X	X		
Snowshoe staff	X	X		
Snowshoe pine	X	O		
Sinds	O	O		
Toboggans	X	X		
Skin toboggan	X	X		
Men pull toboggans	X	X		
Women pull toboggans	X	X		
Human packing	X	X		
Men do packing	X			
Women do packing	X			
Tump line	X	X		
Shoulder strap	X	O		
Chest pack stick	O	O		
Dog packing	X	X		
Dogs hitched to tandem	X			
Dog sleeve	X	X		
Ability to swim	X	X		
Trade	R	R		
MANUFACTURES AND IMPLEMENTS				
Techniques:				
Tanning	X	X		
Woven basketry		X		
Matting	O	O		
Pottery	O	X		
Skin weaving	X	X		
Wool-fiber weaving	X?			X?
Metal working	O	O		
Porcupine-quill weaving	X	X		
Lines:				
Babiche	X	X		
Rawhide	X	X		
Sinew	X	X		
Willow bark	X	X		
Willow bast	O			
Whole willow	X	X		
Spruce root	X	X		
Willow root	X	X		
Spruce wood	O	O		
Fish skin	O	O		
Special bear skin	X	X		
Tanned skin	X	X		
Green line	X	X		
Braided	X			
Twisted	X	X		
Feather line		X		
Cold-weather babiche drying	X			
Dyed babiche	X			
Babiche stretching frames	R			

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	Copper Inland Eskimo	Prince Albert Eskimo	Takimo	Pressure Lake Eskimo
[illegible]	X	X		X
[illegible]	X	X	X	
[illegible]	X	X	X	
[illegible]	X	X	X	X
[illegible]	X	X		X
[illegible]	X	X		
[illegible]	X	X	O	
[illegible]	X	X		X
[illegible]	X	X		
[illegible]	X	X		
[illegible]	X	X	

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tedona	Frances Lake Kaska
Kaiser:				
Bone	X	X		
Stone	X	X		
Copper	O			
Drawknife	O?	X		
Ulu	O			
Horn hafts for knives	X	X		
Wood hafts for knives	X	X		
Scabbards		X		
Scrapers:				
Bone	X	X		
Stone	X	X		
Tooth		X		
Horn	X	X		
Fuel scraper	X	X		
Tooth awl	X	X		
Wood awl	X			
Stone ads	O	O		
Horn ads	X	X		
Stone ax	X	O		
Stone hammer	X			
Stone pestle	X			
Wood wedge	X	X		
Wood maul	O			
Stone maul	X			
Containers:				
One-piece wood dishes	X	X		
Two-wood dishes	O			
Horn spoons	X	X		X
Wood spoons	X			
Birch-bark baskets	X	X	X	
Birch-bark dishes	X	X		
Spruce-bark baskets	X	X		
Willow baskets	X			
Woven-grass baskets		X		
Skin bags	X			
Fish-skin bags	X			
Rabbit-skin game bags	X			
Intestine bags	X			
Clay pots	O?	X?		
Clay-lined bark vessels	X			
Snow shovel	X			
Netting needle (shuttle)	X			
Net measure	X			
Bark remover	X	X		
Rabbit-skin weaving frame	O			
Skin snow glasses	X			
Bark snow glasses	X			
Willow brooms	X			
Form-board skin stretchers	X			

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tsetsaut	Fraser Lake Kaska
Willow-pole beaver skin stretchers	X			
Woman's work board	X			
Bow loom	X	X		
Bone needle	X	X	X	
Bone thimble	X			
Skin thimble		X		
War				
Causes:				
To protect territory		X		
To gain women	X	X		
To gain property		X		
To gain prestige	O			
Revenge	X	X		
Weapons:				
Bow	X	X		
Knife	X			
Club		X		
Lance	X			
Bear-skin armor	X			
Bark and skin helmets	X			
Shields	X			
Scouts	X			
Sentries or look-outs	X			
War chiefs	X			
Face painting	X			
Cohabitation taboo	X			
Ritual with human dummies	X			
Hiding of children	X			
Canoe warfare	O			
Exchange of prisoners	O			
Scalping	X			
Decapitation	O			
Mutilation of enemy	X			
Torture	X			
Ceremonial cannibalism	X	O		
Dancing with scalp	X			
Tattooing as war record	X			
Hunting taboo	X			
Arts and Accurements				
Measures and directions:				
Monthly time units	X	X		
Body-part measures	X			
River-valley directions	X			
Cures:				
Bleeding for snowblindness	O			
Gum for snowblindness	O	X		
Sweat bathing	X			
Bathing in hot springs	O			
Urine fumes for colds	X?	X		
Fireweed brew for muscle aches	X			
Broken limbs set		X		

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	Upper Liard Kaska	*Dease River Kaska*	*Tsekana*	*Frances Lake Kaska*
Rock painting	X			
Blue-green color confusion	X			
Paints:				
Red	X	X	X	
Blue-green	X	X		
Yellow	O			
Black	X	X		
White		X		
Dyeing	O	X		
Wood carving	X			
Carved wood masks	X			
Animal-skin masks	X	X		
Bark masks		X		
Grotesque attire	X	X		
Incising by burning	O			
Porcupine-quill work	X	X	X	
Weather omens	X			
Drawing on snow	X			
Smoke signals	X	X		
Circle dances	O	X		
Line dances	X			
War dances	O			
Musical instruments:				
Tambourine drum	X	X		
Flank drum	O	O		
Rattle	X	X		
Willow whistle	X	X		
Songs:				
Luck	X	X		
Mourning	X			
Shaman's	X	X		
Love	X	X		
Potlatch	X	X		
War		O		
Victory	X			
Amusement	X			
Canoeing	O			
Gambling	X	X		
Stone working		X		
Individual ownership	O			
Toys and dolls:				
Dolls	O	O		
Miniature weapons	X	X		
Skin sling toy	X			
Bone toy	X			
Bull-roarer	X			
Games:				
Wrestling	X	X		
Relative avoidance in wrestling	X			
Running races	X	X		
Boat races	X	X		

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tsetsaut	Francois Lake Kaska
Rope tug-of-war	O	X		
Pull pole tug-of-war	O	X		
Push pole tug-of-war		X		
Tossing in moose skin	O	O		
Stick games	X	X		
Blind man's bluff	X	X		
Dog-sled	X	O		
Swings	X			
Bow and arrow	X	X		
Hide and seek	X	X		
Breaking beaver bone	X			
String figures	X	X		
Story telling important	X			
Ownership of stories	O			
Riddles	X			
Gambling	X	X		
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION				
Matrilineal clan	O	O		
Exogamous moieties	X	X	O	X?
Moiety face painting	X			
Band organization	X	X		
Social classes	I	I		
Slaves	X			
Strong chiefs/ship	O	O		
Weak chief/ship	X	X		
Inherited chief/ship (patrilineal)	X	X		
Wealth a prestige factor	X	X		
Councils	X			
2-family social unit	X		X	
Ritual friendship	O	X		
Individual ownership	X			
Fishing sites	O	O		
Hunting sites	O	O		
Beaver creeks	X			
Ownership marks	O			
Patrilineal inheritance	X			
Family-owned beaver creeks	X			
Hospitality	X			
Hot-food hospitality test	O			
Cool food served visitors	X			
Adoption	X			
Berdache female	X	O		
Berdache male	O	O		
Position of women:				
Women do packing	X			
Shelter wife's domain	[illegible]			
Control of children	X			
Control of food	X			
Blood revenge	X	X		
Weregild	X	X		
Murder and manslaughter distinguished	X			

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tahltan	Frances Lake Kaska
Adoption of murderer	X			
Joking relationship	X	X		
Uncle-nephew relationship	X			
Brother-sister avoidance	X	X		
Cree-type cousin terminology	X	X	O	X
Iroquois-type cousin terminology	O	O	X	O
Mother called by same term as Mother	X	X	O	X
Reciprocal term between Mother-Son	X	X	X	X
Joking relationship with Father	X			
Puberty:				
Birth	X			
First game	X	X		
Girl's puberty	X	X		
Marriage	X	X		
Death	X			
Vision quest		X		
Anniversary of death	X	X		
Rich man's feast	X			
Moth feast (wolverine feast)	X			
War		X		
Prohibits:				
Between moieties	X	X		
Learning to accumulate wealth	O	O		
Menstrual staff	X			
Competitive games	X			
Grease drinking	X			
Special songs	X	X		
Ceremonial wigs		O		
To avoid intermoiety conflict	X			
Social customs:				
Skin head worn for fertility	X			
Skin head worn during pregnancy	O			
Requested copulation for conception	X			
Women during pregnancy	X			
Food preferences during pregnancy	X			
Contraceptive magic	X			
Birth:				
Women isolated	X	X		
Stamping (supported by women)	X			
Hanging to pole	X			
Secreting placenta	X	X		
Cohabitation taboo	X	X		
Infanticide		X		
Killing one twin	O	O		
Purification of father	O			
Unwed motherhood punished	X	X		
Circumcision	O			
Speaker's name taboo	X			
Taknuyway	O	O		
Girl's puberty:				
Puberty sequestration	X	X		
Menstrual sequestration	X	X	X	

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tahltan	Frances Lake Kaska
Menstrual hood	X,	X		
Drinking tube	X	X		
Interacting with	X	X		
Special dishes	XO			
Food or drink taboos	X		X	
Trail taboos	X	O		
Idleness taboo	X			
Menstrual pads	X	X		
Boy's puberty ceremony		XO		
Marriage:				
Engagement of children	X	X		
Monogamy prevalent	X	X		
Polygyny	X	X		
Polyandry	X	X		
Wife exchange	O			
Wife capture	X	X		
Wrestling for wives	X			
Wife purchase	X			
Levirate	X	XO	X	
Sororate	X	X	X	
Matrilocal residence	X	X		
Mother controls marriage	X			
Boy works for bride's parents	X	X		
Divorce simple	X	X		
Mother-in-law avoidance	X	X		
Cross-cousin marriage	X	X	X	
Chastity belt	?			
Death:				
Due to evil spirits or ghosts	X			
Due to sorcery	X			
Due to natural causes	X			
Due to broken taboos	X			
Suicide	X			
Abandonment of living	X	O		
Disposal of corpse:				
Abandonment	X			
Elevated cache	X	O	O	
Cremation	X	X	X	
Second disposal	X		X	
Grave burial	X	O	O	
Log burial	X	O		
Interment in ground	X	X		
Burial in house	X			
Body ceremonially displayed	X			
Body removed through rear wall	X			
Burial by another group	X	X	O	
Flexed burial	O			
Grave-marker's taboo	X		X	
Grave objects	O			
Mourning:				
Widow cuts hair	X			

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tsetsaut	Fremont Lake Kaska
Survivors cut hair	X	X	X	
Widow scarification	X	O	O	
Widow blackens face	X		O	
Survivors blacken face	X		O	
Food taboos	X		X	
Widow controlled by mother-in-law	X	X	X	
Taboo on cohabitation	X			
Taboo on remarriage	X			
Severe demeanment	X		X	
Periodic wailing	X			
Distribution of deceased's property	X	X		
Destruction of deceased's property	X		O	
Mourning songs	X	X		
RELIGION				
Animism	X			
Belief in afterworld	X	X	X	X
Special afterworld for drowned	X			
Special afterworld for suicides	X			
Reincarnation	X	X		X
Belief in superior being	O?	O?	O	
Monsters	X			
Giants	X	X		
Dwarfs	X	X		
Special regard for otter	X	X	X	X
Nakani belief	X	X		
Animals with human attributes	X			
Cold being	O			
Moon being	X			
Water being		O		
Wind being	X			
North-wind being	X			
Fire being		X		
Feeding the fire	X	X		
Offerings to rocks	O			
Magic formulas	X	X		
Amulets	X			
Earth-diver tale	X	X		
Ceremonial number 4	X			
SHAMANISM:				
Public performances	X	X	O	
Power from animals	X	X	X	
Vision quest	X	X	X	
Power through dreams	X	X	X?	
Cure by sucking	X			
Flank drum	O		O	
Tambourine drum	O		O	
Rattle		X	O	
Clappers (snapping sticks)	X			
Ceremonial doll	X			

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	Upper Liard Kaska	Dease River Kaska	Tsetsaut	Fremont Lake Kaska
Bear skin dress		X		
Payment	X	X		
Divination	X			
Confession	X	X		X?
Illness by soul loss	X	X		
Illness by intrusion	X	X		X
Fear of sorcery	X	X		X